

## Message Text

SECRET

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42

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7546

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

S E C R E T TOKYO 1032

EXDIS

FOR EA DEP ASST SEC MILLER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CB

SUBJECT: CAMBODIAN QUESTION

SUMMARY: DURING TOKYO STOPOVER THAI UN AMB. ANAND EXPRESSED DISGRUNTLEMENT OVER FRANCE'S EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE KHMER SETTLEMENT. ASEAN AND JAPAN ARE APPARENTLY AWAITING OUT-COME BEFORE DECIDING HOW TO PROCEED. FONOFF DETECTS FRENCH-SIHANOUK LINK BEHIND FRANCE'S EFFORTS AND DOUBTS THEY WILL SUCCEED, ESPECIALLY SINCE KHMER ROUGE GAINING STRENGTH IN KHMER ITSELF. FONOFF OFFICIAL SUGGESTED PERHAPS APPROACH TO HANOI SEEKING KHMER SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED. END SUMMARY.

1. RECENT TALKS IN TOKYO BETWEEN THAI PERMREP IN UN, AMB. ANAND, AND VICE FONMIN TOGO, DESCRIBED TO US BY FONOFF FIRST SE ASIA DIV DIRECTOR HANABUSA, INDICATE ASEANS, AS WELL AS JAPANESE, ARE DISGRUNTLED OVER FRENCH EFFORTS TO CAPITALIZE ON UNGA SUCCESS TO REASSERT FRENCH INFLUENCE IN CAMBODIA. AMB. ANAND TOLD TOGO THAT ASEAN VICE MINISTERS DECIDED AT RECENT CONFERENCE TO WATCH FRENCH EFFORTS BEFORE DECIDING COURSE ASEAN (AND JAPAN) MIGHT PURSUE. HANABUSA

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SAID FONOFF FELT SAME WAY. ALTHOUGH JAPANESE, LIKE

ASEAN WOULD APPLAUD SUCCESSFUL FRENCH EFFORTS, THEY ALL THOUGHT FRENCH TIMCXSAL WAS RIGGED AND NOT LIKELY TO PROVIDE SATISFACTORY COMPROMISE AMONG KHMER PARTIES.

2. DETERIORATING GKR MILITARY AND LOGISTICS SITUATION FURTHER JEOPARDIZES EARLY AND SATISFACTORY SOLUTION. SINCE FAILURE IN UNGA USING SIHANOUK AS FRONT MAN, KHMER ROUGE ARE GAINING ASCENDENT POSITION MILITARILY. HANABUSA SUSPECTS THAT SIHANOUK'S STATEMENTS ON SWEDISH TV REFLECT HIS DECLINING INFLUENCE AND POSSIBLY ALSO INDICATE COOPERATION BETWEEN SIHANOUK AND FRANCE TO PRODUCE SOLUTION IN HIS (AND THEIR) FAVOR.

3. BASED ON STATEMENT REGARDING KHMER IN MARTINIQUE COMMUNIQUE, HANABUSA SAID HE AND ASEANS WONDERED IF US WERE NOT BACKING FRENCH EFFORTS. IF SO, HE THOUGHT ASEAN AND JAPAN SHOULD BE BROUGHT INTO PICTURE.

4. THINKING ALOUD, HANABUSA POSTULATED THAT PERHAPS PEKING WAS NOT THE CORRECT CAPITAL IN WHICH TO SEEK SOLUTION. PERHAPS HANOI, WITH CONTROL OF KHMER ROUGE SUPPLY LINES, MIGHT BE MOST EFFECTIVE PARTNER FOR NEGOTIATIONS. HE REASONED THAT HANOI WOULD BE CONTENT TO LIMIT CHINA'S INFLUENCE IN KHMER AND TO ACCEPT A KHMER REGIME IN PHNOM PENH WHICH FOR NATIONALISTIC REASONS, WOULD INEVITABLY BECOME INCREASINGLY KHMERIAN BUT WHICH WOULD POSE NO THREAT TO HANOI. TO ATTRACT US, HANABUSA CLAIMS THAT THIS SOLUTION WOULD END WAR AND THE INCREASINGLY NATIONALIST KHMER REGIME WOULD PROVIDE BUFFER TO REST OF SE ASIA FROM VIETNAMESE OF WHATEVER COLORATION.  
HODGSON

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## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
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**TAGS:** PFOR, CB, UN  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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